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177 these two sacraments became pivotal, while the rest of Church life, however
797 deeply experienced, seems to be a supplementary benefit. I am speaking, be it understood, of a group of rather recent converts.

553 When I asked informants why they had joined the Church I was given one
551 invariable answer: 'to receive a new name.' The meaning of this is clear and
797 unequivocal, and follows from information already published by Williams (1930: 97, 175–7). An Orokaiva, under the traditional system, might have three types of name: (1) a 'name proper' (*javo be*) taken from a stock of names used by his father's or mother's patrilineage and conferred at birth; (2) one or more nicknames (*javo isapa*) which may be acquired at any age; (3) assumption by the slayer of the name of the slain. Williams reported that there was also a common habit of bestowing the victim's name upon the child of the slayer. The name of the slain is adopted as a distinction, and as a means of acquiring the latter's *ivo*. Baptismal names fall within this third category, for what the Orokaiva regards as obvious reasons.

First of all, baptismal names are never Orokaiva names, but are chosen from a large stock known to servants of the Church. Some are recondite names (Cephas, Stanislaus, Gemima), other are a combination of the Christian and surnames of missionaries (Dick Stafford, Nancy White). All these names, used by the mission for baptismal purposes, are reasonably regarded as names belonging to Jesus Christ. Now, Christ was slain by His enemies. After His death, those who adopted one of His names were saved and obtained great wealth and power.
[778] White men are powerful because they obtained the *ivo* of this slain Man. The mission gave Orokaiva the opportunity to acquire one of these names too, if they obeyed its rules. Thus a baptismal name fulfils the same function as was fulfilled by the adoption of the name of the slain. *Ivo* can now be obtained without the need to kill a human victim; in fact, it has now become not only useless but evil to kill people in order to assume their names. The baptismal name has taken their place.

An important parallel between the two kinds of name is that a person cannot confer either upon himself. This can be done only after a person has gone through rituals of purification by a man of great purity and renown. The eating of the body of the slain can confer *ivo* only if this communion food is a gift from some other person; similarly, bread and wine are spiritually potent only if given by a priest in a proper ritual. I have already pointed out the similarity perceived by Orokaiva between communion and the traditional rite of eating slain victims. Communion may be called the culminating ritual of the *iji eha* when Jesus Christ fully becomes the celebrant's spiritual ancestor, much in the manner of Totoima, and with similar potent effects.

797 This sketch is not at all intended as a criticism of the mission. On the
177 contrary, time probably has to pass before the Orokaiva can move from their present identification with the Church to the internalisation of its values. And it has been argued (e.g. Kelman 1962) that identification is often a necessary preliminary of change. Even the degree of change described here has been by no means easy to achieve. The ideology of the *iji eha* which underlies the present acceptance of socio-economic programmes as well as of Christianity, was long
[829] resisted by Orokaiva, even after the Second World War. A premise of this acceptance has been a growing opinion that the Western world order was indeed

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a baby, named Jarata, who became sick and died at the age of nine months (of gastro-enteritis). I was told the cause of death was the father's neglect to collect the stick. The baby Jarata who died was described as a spirit baby (*meni ahihi*); the real baby (*meni be*) had been left in the garden inside the stick and was taken away by the fairies (*sovai*). When the baby became sick, the medicine man went to collect the stick, no doubt with appropriate magic, but it was too late; the 'real baby' was no longer there.

This explanation, referring to the father's neglect, was given by members of Jarata's maternal clan. But I was given a second explanation by the child's paternal clan. According to them, the child died because the mother did not look after the land properly. The assumption here is that if the garden where the child obtains what we provisionally call his soul is well tended, then the child's body will also grow well, but if the garden is neglected (horticulturally or ritually), the child will become sick and die. This intimate connection between the garden and the well-being of the soul endures to some extent throughout life but is especially critical in infancy before a child is able to walk and grows teeth.

It is clear that the 'baby in the stick' resembles what is generally known as an 'external soul'. In its more usual form an 'external soul' resides in an object which is carefully preserved from danger, for any vicissitude that may threaten the object will also threaten the life of the person to whom the 'external soul' belongs. Normally such an object is carefully buried and kept out of harm's way. It appears that the Orokaiva do believe in external souls in this sense, and that they reside in particular specimens of a plant after which a person is named, but that is not relevant here. The concept of the baby in the stick differs in interesting ways from the usual kind of 'external soul'.

The first difference is one of terminology. When I asked whether the part of the baby that was in the stick was called its *ahihi* (spirit) this was denied explicitly. On the contrary, it was the *ahihi* of the child that the mother took with her to the village after the ritual and it was the *ahihi* that the mother was left with when the child sickened and died. The child I had been looking at for several months and that died of gastro-enteritis was nothing but an *ahihi* and it was for that reason that it wasted away and could not live. The part left in the stick and stolen by the fairies was actually the child's *hamo*, its body. Emphatically, therefore, the Orokaiva believe that *ahihi* can be corporeal and that *hamo* can be incorporeal.

Let us now consider more precisely the transaction between deceased and infant that may be called transmigration of souls, which is mediated through the land. Let us start with the death of a man of the Seho clan who was called Jarata (1). Jarata's spirit stayed on the land he had been cultivating at the time of death. Some six years later, Jarata's brother lent this land for a season to Gilford, the husband of a classificatory sister. Gilford's wife was pregnant at the time. When the infant was born, it was named by the man who had lent the land, and was given the name of the dead brother, Jarata. As far as I understand, the effect of this act of naming was to attach the *ahihi* of Jarata (1) to the infant, Jarata (2). (A male infant may obtain its name from either its mother's or its father's patrilineage.) But in addition to *ahihi*, the baby had to be given bodily strength and vigorous growth, in other words, it had to have *hamo*. This could be obtained only from the garden where Jarata (1) was still present. Jarata's *hamo*

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614 Similarly, the fact that these groupings together call themselves a clan (*javo wahai*) does not imply the actual existence of agnatic connection. The term means 'one name', and that is all they share, except for uterine links which buttress the social relations between them. The clan name is important as a symbol of political identification. The close bonds between the clan segments are evident in residence patterns, in daily intercourse and mutual assistance in practical matters, though not in ritual or other formal organisation.

614 824 The second principle of grouping is the plant emblem (*hae*), already recognised by Williams (1925, 1930) as important in the Orokaiva social system. Williams describes it as 'a distinctive emblem or associate' of a clan, though he recognised it could belong merely to a segment of a clan. Most of them are vegetable species, though almost any natural or cultural object may be designated as *hae*. Williams lists three main uses: as an identity token (to mark a visit by the owner), as a mark of individual abstinence (a self-inflicted taboo, usually shown to indicate a grievance) and as a village taboo post (prohibiting [773] access). The *hae* is regarded as an ancestor, which does not signify, as Williams carefully pointed out, that men believe themselves to be physically descendants ● [553] of plants, but that the ancestor was a man bearing the name of that plant. Clan and personal names are commonly plant names and often the *hae* of a clan and its name are identical. On the question whether the *hae* is a totem, he remarked that, whatever we call it, 'it will be obvious that it is very much like one.' He noted some forms of religious respect toward *hae*, notably eating and naming taboos.

614 824 To this information we may add that in our experience the term *hae* is frequently used to describe a social group made up of persons sharing a *hae*, and that the group to which it is applied is not the clan (*javo wahai*) but a smaller formation often about the same size as a 'clan segment' or 'lineage'. As such, they are probably the basic larger unit of Orokaiva social structure.

Every individual respects a number of paternal and a number of maternal *hae*. Theoretically, a person passes on his father's but not his mother's *hae* to the next generation so that the *hae* would form an agnatic group. Most individuals have about five *hae* in regular use. I recorded forty-two *hae* names in a population of 135.

There would normally be one *hae* common to a *javo wahai*. Less wide-ranging [582] and more distinctive *hae* would often be of more social importance. Those who were related to the same distinctive *hae* would co-operate in marriage and [611] mortuary payments and maintain a strict exogamy rule. Though they claimed their group to be composed wholly of agnates and children of agnates, there were in fact several cases of uterine transmission for more than one generation, especially where marriages were uxorilocal. Some *hae* became unusually popular, like *topu*, a tree name which became a *hae* after a Sivepe woman died by falling off a *topu* tree. She was given the necronym Topugoru, after which all her lineal descendants adopted *topu* as a *hae*. In other instances again, persons sharing the same *hae* were quite plainly unrelated in a physical sense. In fact the membership of none of the eleven most numerous plant emblem groups was drawn from a single clan segment or even a single local clan group.

It follows that the social group called *hae* never has a membership identical with that of a lineage, if we use that term in the sense of Crocombe, Hogbin or

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CORRESPONDENCE

Virgin birth

Sir,

121 [114] The contributions by Spiro and Kaberry in your June issue (3, 242–61, 311–13) and the continuing correspondence (3, 651–6) prompt me to mention briefly the views on physiological paternity held by the Orokaiva of Papua, as explained to me when I was doing fieldwork there in 1966–1967.

842 [715] The Orokaiva believe that a child is conceived when the spirit of a dead kinsman wishes to enter a new human body. If a newborn child is a male, it is believed to have been formed as the result of sexual congress between the father and mother both of whom have contributed 'blood'. The birth of the male child is, therefore, explained by a combination of two events, the entry of the spirit and sexual intercourse. If a newborn child is a female it is believed to have been formed by 'a woman sleeping alone', i.e. the female child is not thought to have a human genitor. While this theory leaves open the possibility of 'virgin birth', Orokaiva notions about the development of the embryo go against it. The growth of the embryo must be stimulated by frequent sexual intercourse. A spirit is said usually to choose a sexually active woman for its rebirth.

553 842 The customs concerning the naming of children are consistent with this theory. The naming of girls is always left to the mother's consanguines as the spirit which entered her is thought to belong to a deceased maternal consanguine. The naming of boys is more complicated as the question arises whether the spirit entered the mother and thus fertilised her, or entered the father and passed from him to the mother. In the former case, it is presumed that the spirit was a dead consanguine of the mother; naming is then entrusted to the mother's consanguines. In the latter case, it is presumed that the spirit was a dead consanguine of the father whose kinsmen are accordingly entrusted with the naming ritual. About half of the male babies are, according to my records, named by maternal relatives, and half by paternal ones.

851 [614] A medicine man (*sivo embo*) is called in to determine to whose side the spirit of a male baby belongs. Both the male and the female babies become part of the paternal clan (the Orokaiva are patrilineal). If a man has paid bridewealth for a woman, he is pater to all the children borne by that woman as long as the